

## Message Text

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TOSEC 131

FOLL REPEAT USNATO 4741 ACTION SECSTATE INFO MOSCOW OCTOBER 5  
QUOTE

CONFIDENTIAL USNATO 4741

.O. 11652: GDS, 12-31-79

TAGS: PFOR, NATO

SUBJECT: POLADS PAPER ON SOVIET INTERNAL DEVELOPMENTS

1. FOLLOWING IS TEXT OF PAPER DEVELOPED BY INTERNATIONAL  
STAFF ON SOVIET INTERNAL DEVELOPMENTS REFLECTING  
DISCUSSION IN POLITICAL COMMITTEE WHICH WAS IN TURN BASED  
ON SUBSTANTIAL U.S. INPUT. FIRST SEVEN PARAGRAPHS OF TEXT  
BELOW ARE INFORMAL MISSION TRANSLATION OF IS PAPER. IS  
PAPER WILL BE ON AGENDA OF OCTOBER 8 POLADS MEETING, AT WHICH  
TIME WE WOULD WELCOME ANY PRELIMINARY COMMENTS BY DEPARTMENT  
AND EMBASSY MOSCOW. WE ASSUME THAT PAPER WILL REMAIN ON  
COMMITTEE'S AGENDA FOR AT LEAST ONE MORE MEETING WHICH WOULD  
ALLOW ADDITIONAL TIME FOR COMMENTS, SHOULD THIS BE NEEDED.

2. BEGIN TEXT:

SOVIET INTERNAL DEVELOPMENTS

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I. REVIEW OF DEVELOPMENTS

1. FOR SEVERAL YEARS, THE SOVIET POLITICAL POLICE HAVE SOUGHT, WITH CONTINUITY AND A CERTAIN DISCRETION, TO ELIMINATE ALL EVIDENCES OF OPPOSITION AMONG INTELLECTUALS TO THE REGIME. DURING RECENT WEEKS, THIS EFFORT HAS TAKEN ON A GREATER MAGNITUDE AND A SERIES OF RELATED EVENTS HAS PUT THE CAMPAIGN AGAINST THE DISSIDENTS IN THE CENTER OF INTERNATIONAL ATTENTION.

2. THIS HARDENING REGARDING DISSIDENTS WAS INDICATED INITIALLY BY THE SENTENCING OF AMALRIK TO THREE YEARS OF DETENTION IN A STRICT REGIME LABOR CAMP ON THE EVE OF HIS LIBERATION. THEN THERE WAS THE REVOCATION OF SOVIET CITIZENSHIP OF THE BIOLOGIST JAURES MEDVEDEV, THE EXILE OF SINYAVSKI, THE MANIFESTATIONS OF ANTI-SEMITISM DURING THE UNIVERSITY OLYMPICS IN MOSCOW AND THE SIMULTANEOUS CONTINUATION OF ARRESTS AND COMMITMENT TO PSYCHIATRIC HOSPITALS. IN THIS CONTEXT, OBSERVERS WERE ASTONISHED BY THE TOLERANCE WHICH THE SOVIET AUTHORITIES SHOWED TOWARD THE DECLARATIONS COMMUNICATED TO THE WESTERN PRESS BY SOLZHENITSYN AND SAKHAROV, DENOUNCING THE REPRESSION OF THOUGHT IN THE USSR AND WARNING WESTERN OPINION AGAINST A POLICY OF DETENTE WHICH, WITHOUT A DEMOCRATIZATION OF THE SOVIET REGIME, WOULD REMAIN AN ILLUSION.

3. A NEW ELEMENT EMERGED WITH THE CAMPAIGN OF DENIGRATION AGAINST SOLZHENITSYN AND SAKHAROV AS WELL AS THE WARNINGS AND THREATS TO WHICH THEY WERE SUBJECTED, AND THE EXCEPTIONAL PUBLICITY GIVEN TO THE LEGAL PROCEEDINGS AGAINST YAKIR AND KRASSIN, WHO WERE CHARGED WITH COOPERATION WITH THE NTS, AN ORGANIZATION SEEKING TO OVERTHROW THE CURRENT REGIME IN THE USSR. THIS CASE ACTUALLY RELATES TO THE "CHRONICAL OF CURRENT EVENTS," A TYPED MANUSCRIPT CIRCULATING UNDERGROUND WHICH LAST APPEARED IN NOVEMBER 1972.

4. THE CAMPAIGN ORCHESTRATED AGAINST SAKHAROV ENDED AS SUDDENLY AS IT BEGAN, AND ON SEPTEMBER 8 SAKHAROV HELD A SECOND PRESS CONFERENCE AT HIS MOSCOW APARTMENT FOR A GROUP OF FOREIGN CORRESPONDENTS DURING WHICH HE SOUGHT TO REPLY TO THE ATTACKS AGAINST HIM. AT THE SAME TIME, AND EQUALLY UNCONFIDENTIAL

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EXPECTED, THE JAMMING OF BROADCASTS BY VOA, BBC AND DEUTSCHE WELLE WAS STOPPED FOR THE FIRST TIME SINCE 1968.

5. SINCE THE TIME OF KHRUSHCHEV, THERE HAD NOT BEEN SO MUCH ATTENTION TO THE PROBLEM OF THE DISSIDENTS, WHOM THE REGIME MAINTAINED WERE ONLY ISOLATED INDIVIDUALS WITHOUT POPULAR SUPPORT. IN SUPPORT OF RUMORS RELATING TO DISAGREEMENTS WITHIN THE SOVIET LEADERSHIP, IT CAN BE RECALLED THAT IN HIS AUGUST 15 SPEECH AT

ALMA-ATA, BREZHNEV USED A NEW TONE IN AFFIRMING HIS CONVICTION THAT "THE EXTENSION OF CONTRACTS, THE EXCHANGE OF CULTURAL VALUES, OF INFORMATION, THE DEVELOPMENT OF TIES BETWEEN SOCIAL ORGANIZATIONS WHICH ARE NATURAL IN A CLIMATE OF DETENTE, WILL BE USEFUL FOR THE DIFFUSION OF THE TRUTH ABOUT SOCIALISM AND FOR WINNING NEW SUPPORTERS FOR THE IDEAS OF SCIENTIFIC COMMUNISM."

6. IT IS ALSO APPROPRIATE TO MENTION THE LETTER WHICH BREZHNEV SENT TO PRAVDA ON SEPTEMBER 7 IN WHICH HE EXPRESSED HIS THANKS FOR THE MESSAGES OF SUPPORT WHICH HE HAD RECEIVED FROM THE POPULATION FOR HIS POLICY OF DETENTE. AT THE SAME TIME, WE SHOULD KEEP IN MIND THE FACT THAT THE CHINESE EMBASSY IN MOSCOW HAS ACTIVELY ENCOURAGED RUMORS ACCORDING TO WHICH BREZHNEV WAS IN A DIFFICULT POSITION AND THE CAMPAIGN AGAINST THE DISSIDENTS HAD BEEN INITIATED BY HIS OPPONENTS.

7. IN ANY CASE, IT IS CLEAR THAT THE CURRENT TRUCE COULD BE SUSPENDED AT ANY MOMENT.

## II. ASSESSMENT

8. THE DEVELOPMENTS DESCRIBED ABOVE HAVE HIGHLIGHTED THE DIFFICULTY FACED BY THE SOVIET LEADERSHIP IN RECONCILING THEIR STIFLING OF DISSENT WITH THEIR ESPOUSAL OF A POLICY OF DETENTE INCORPORATING AGREEMENT TO DISCUSS AT THE CSCE TOPICS MUCH AS THE FREER EXCHANGE OF PEOPLE AND IDEAS.

9. THE TRIAL AND "CONFESSIONS" OF YAKIR AND KRASSIN AND THE PRESSURES ON SAKHAROV, SOLZHENITSYN AND OTHERS PROVIDE EVIDENCE OF THE EXISTENCE AND INFLUENCE OF HARD-LINERS IN THE SOVIET HIERARCHY WHO BELIEVE IN CONTINUING TO STIFLE DISSENT TENACIOUSLY. WHILE BREZHNEV HIMSELF MAY HAVE BEEN HESITANT TO CONFIDEN  
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